643
173

it is correct, the domination of the Batutsi over Ruanda would go back nearly four centuries.

[565] The Abanyiginya and the Abega are the most influential
643 noble families of the country, and kings and queens have been chosen from among them since the earliest times.

• [551] The kings of Ruanda have two names, that given them at birth (Musinga, Rudahigwa) and that given them on their accession (Yuhi, Mutara).

When the Mwami dies royal power passes to one of his sons, generally to one of the youngest.

The divine origin attributed to royalty and the legitimacy conferred on the king by a very long heredity led to the [86] acknowledgment of a third characteristic of royal power, that is to say, autocracy.

[423] The Mwami is the undisputed master of the whole country, of the land (fields and pastures), of the cattle, as well as of the people. He is the only real proprietor, all those on whom he bestows his generosity being merely his life tenants.

643
425 He does not necessarily own the land which he cultivates himself, and he does not need to, since his revenues are enriched by the tributes and payments owed to him by each of his subjects. When he is young he receives in appanage from the king, his father, one or several provinces, as well as cattle, and servants. On his accession he may keep all these provinces or give them to others (1).

1. Mutara Rudahigwa has kept his provinces of Nduga and Marangara but has shifted the responsibility of their administration to an umutware.

His favors may be bestowed to anybody, to a Muhutu and even to a Mutwa, whom he can raise immediately to the highest rank. Formerly, even in Musinga's time, those who had ceased to please the Mwami, or simply those whose property he coveted, could be dispossessed any day regardless of their high positions, all influence taken from them, and they themselves exiled from the country. Today, if the Mwami wishes to occupy a certain hill, he asks one

643 of his great chiefs to cede it to him. The latter yields with good
[425] grace and usually receives some cattle in exchange.

643 The Mwami is an absolute monarch by divine right who
661 knows no other rule but his will, even his caprice. (2) In the past,
692

2. Hence the proverb: Luyose higirwa n'Unwami, "all depends on the King."

before our occupation, he could with impunity torture, mutilate, or kill anyone who had displeased him. His criminal sentences conformed to the customs of the country, which acknowledged this [87] formidable right, and no one thought of rebelling against his decisions (1).

[177] 1. The Mwami's right of life and death was abolished in 1917 at the time of the occupation of the country by our troops.

In the same way he is high judge and makes the final settlement in disputes, even the slightest, among his subjects.

Finally, the king is the supreme legislator of the people. With the help of the abiru, he sees that the common law is kept, but he has the sole power of modifying the country's law if and whatever he wishes.

643 He announces his decisions (amategeko) at the door of his rugo,
[692] where people from all parts have congregated to pay homage or demand justice. The intumwa (messengers) are then charged to make known the Mwami's orders to the people of the different provinces.

643 In addition to his Mututsi name (Musinga, Rudahigwa, etc.),
551 the Mwami receives on his accession a king's name (Yuhi, Mutara, etc.). These names are repeated periodically; thus the present Mwami is Mutara III.

The king is sometimes given a surname such as Rwabugiri Sezisoni (Merciful, Clement) (2).

[192] 2. Foreign word originating in Buhima, east of Ruanda.

643 [551] Often an interdiction is attached to a king's name: a Yuhi, for instance, may not cross great rivers like the Nyabarongo (3).

3. River flowing into the Akanyaru which forms the boundary between Ruanda and Urundi.

[775] After his death the king becomes a sort of divinity for the people. He has gone to Hades to join the demigods, his ancestors.

643 644 The king shares the supreme authority with his mother (umugabekazi) (4). She is all-powerful, often more powerful than

4. The king's wife is called Umwamikazi or simply Muka-Rudahigwa, etc. The present King's wife is called Nyiramakomare.

her son. Whoever pays homage to the king [88] must also do so to his mother. She intervenes in law proceedings and the distribution of land, herds, etc. The king and his mother together are called Abami. The continual presence of the queen mother at her son's [608] side is essential (1) and if the king loses his mother, he will be given

1. Kankazi, mother of Rudahigwa Mutara, lives on Shyogwa Hill in Marangara. This measure was taken by the Belgian government because, remembering the disastrous role played by Nyirayuhi with Musinga, they wished to prevent the mother of the present King from exercising too great a political influence.

an official mother. The king's mother has a special name, the [551] same as that of her son, except when the king is called Mutara; that name even the court familiars cannot give her (2). The same honors

2. Yuhi Musinga's mother Kanjogera, bore the royal name of Nyirayuhi. Kankazi, mother of Mutara Rudahigwa, is called Nyiramavugo.

3. Clans, Exogamy, Totemism

614 In addition to the social stratification resulting from the different ethnic strata of the population with the Bahima conquerors, Batussi, as the upper class, there is in the entire interlacustrine region a subordinate social structure determined by kin groups or clans consisting of blood relatives. Depending on their nature, there are clans of Batussi, of Bahutu, and of Batwa. As a group of families related by blood, the clan is the basis of the entire social organization of both Ruanda and of Urundi, and also of Karagwe, Kisiba, Ankole, etc., while the political state is organized on the feudal system. Unfortunately, we 614 know very little about the clans of the Barundi since my pre- 114 decessors have given little attention to this institution and since the natives are reluctant to give information about these conditions, more from fear of the evil results of mentioning names [551] than from their religious concepts (see p. 111, 112). These things are much clearer in Ruanda where Czekanowski, assisted by the missionaries and Christianized natives, was able to obtain much interesting information about the clan structure (No. 48, Chap. 11). What I am able to convey below I owe -- except for my own findings in the field -- to information received from Capt. von Langenn-Steinkeller and Father van der Burgt.

"In his Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi, van der Burgt refers to a few privileged Batussi families from whom the kings customarily choose their wives (see pp. 99, 101, also p. 182 of original text [not translated]), but he fails to mention anything about an organization of the entire population into clans which is of decisive legal, social, and political importance. In reply to my direct inquiry, Father van der Burgt sent me the following information: "Formerly I held the belief for a long time that no clan organization at all existed in Urundi. Both in Unjamwesi and in Kisiba (No. 31, p. 5) one always hears people speak of their luganda (families, cognatio) and their kisse (pl., visse), i.e., clan; for example, whenever one asks a woman for her name, she first gives the name of her clan, e.g., "I am a Magana" or a "Njamurega" or a "Kundwa," etc. In central

845 of the hut to the accompaniment of rattles. These dances last
535 from four to six hours and induce real frenzy in the dancers. They form a circle, jump and contort their bodies bathed in perspiration, and sing rhythmical songs of short stanzas. A circle dance of the girls follows. They are painted and are adorned with leaves. In the meantime large amounts of beer are consumed. The celebration continues in this manner for two or three nights and even longer. In the end the priest once
845 more performs the great ceremony of the holy spear, and two
782 little lambs are dedicated to the god as substitutes for the twins. The lambs may not be slaughtered and are allowed to run around freely and eat whatever and wherever they desire. However, the dances and the drinking bouts often continue for two or three weeks longer (No. 19, p. 325; No. 45, 1914, p. 315).

847 Infanticide (kumuniga umwana) is rare among the Barundi, but it does occur, mainly because the mother wishes to avoid the tedious work of bringing up and feeding the baby. Nominally this is regarded as a punishable crime, but the offender is rarely punished since it is difficult to prove intent to kill (by suffocation). An infant is legally killed by the medicine man if it is
[826] born with teeth or if its upper incisors grow first (No. 4, p. 221).
[171] This is also reported by Lechaptois from the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa (No. 47, p. 138). The Batwa, too, kill such infants.

553 As soon as the child's hair begins to grow or as soon as it is able to walk, it is given a name (isina) by the father. The mother and friends add still other names, so each Murundi has at least two or three names. No special celebration is connected with the naming of the child. There are a great variety of
551 names. They either indicate particular characteristics of the child or refer to certain events in its young life, or they result from some whim of the name-giver, for example: kitwe, thick-head; mbiriko, wood chip; ntarija, it does not cry; kimina, it walks upright; kiriwate, cattle hide; manwa, big mouth; mawamba, orphan; yamirwa, beer; inambu, hunger; tunguru, name of a bird. There are other, ugly Barundi names which

551 Father Gassldinger erroneously connects with the fear of death: nnjimbwa, dog kennel; sembwa, father of a dog; inangurube, pig's mother; kabwebwe, jackal; kabaragassa, flea; somojindi, human excrement. Others are: ruteratschuma, he hurls the iron; ndarusanse, I have hit it; ntamavukiro, homeless; rurihasi, he is near; ruronona, he is the destroyer; rutakaje, he has been lost [112] (No. 46, 1913, p. 13). In addition to his proper name, each child also bears the name of its clan and is given one or more nicknames which it retains even as an adult. The true names of children or adults are only reluctantly revealed to strangers because it is assumed that the latter, by knowing the name, may obtain magical power over its bearer which they might abuse to cause him harm (see p. 133).

853 The feeding and rearing of the child are entirely the affair of the mother. She breast feeds it up to the age of three and four years, and it is very amusing to see a strapping little boy run away from his play and up to his mother where he takes a few refreshing draughts from her breast and then once more rejoins his playmates. 854 The children are kept clean and given [515] a bath every day. There are no baskets or cradles where the children may be deposited. As long as the infant is unable to walk properly, it is carried on its mother's back all the time [482] in a carrying sling (impetso) made of goat or sheep skin with openings for the child's head and legs. Even while working in the fields or while dancing, the mother usually keeps the child on her back; its head and legs are then jolted about by the sudden movements as though it were a puppet. Yet this seldom makes the child cry. From time to time the child is taken out of the sling by lifting it gently from the side and allowed to defecate. If it has done so inside the rucksack, the latter and the mother and child are simply washed. Older children are placed astride the left hip of their mother who supports them from behind with her left arm.

854 At night the children lie on animal skins on the ground. 513 They are covered with the upper garment of the mother which is made of soft cloth from the bark of the fig tree. Very small children are sometimes caressed with kisses by their mother. Otherwise the Barundi are not familiar with kissing (No. 19,

765 Funeral rites are performed only when a king is buried, but after each death certain mourning customs are observed which are more or less elaborate depending on the social position of the deceased. If the deceased is a common Murundi and also father of a family, his widow (or widows) and children observe a mourning period of seven days by not leaving the homestead. Presumably they are afraid of the spirit of the deceased when going outside the house so shortly after his death. Inside the hut they introduce numerous inovations and rearrangements as though they wanted to lead astray and divert the spirit of the deceased should he decide to return. The entrance to the residential hut is changed to another side, new stones are found for the fireplace, the place of the bed is moved, all the tools are rearranged, and so forth. After the seventh day every [783] member of the family takes a thorough bath in a stream, probably as a symbolic cleansing from the defilement caused by the deceased. Then the whole family have their heads shaved as a symbol of purification and mourning, and during the following two months they always wear clothes of mourning when leaving [292] the house, i.e., barkcloth which is neither dyed black, the normal color, nor painted with patterns (No. 19, p. 163) but [822] has its natural reddish-brown color; thus red is the color of mourning here. The name of the deceased is not mentioned any ● [551] more so as not to cause his malevolent spirit to appear, and all other persons or objects bearing the same name are given new ones.

Naturally a deceased mutwale is given more respect than 766 a common Murundi. For the former the kiranga performs the 211 ceremonies of the "holy spear" (see p. 134), and a tree is 768 planted on his grave [115] as a memorial (imana) which is inviolable. The family of the deceased leaves the homestead and settles in another place; the huts of the deceased disintegrate and disappear, and the fig trees that form the fence gradually grow into magnificent trees. Nobody may cut them down for [689] wood on pain of death (No. 19, p. 205). The sites where chiefs once lived, both in Urundi and Ruanda, can be picked out anywhere in the landscape by these groups of trees arranged in a circle where they once enclosed the courtyards (Plate 29a).

776 king, the amulets, the oracle animals, the sacred spear, etc.
[778] (No. 19, p. 214). The same applies to Ruanda (No. 44, pp. 284; No. 39, pp. 102, 109). Imana is given a number of different names or is identified with other gods, depending on his different characteristics and functions. This is also true in
● [551] Ruanda. Children are often given names which contain the word Imana: [121] Kaimana, little Imana; Mbonimana, gift of Imana; Ndorimana, appearance of Imana; Keschimana, ornament of Imana (No. 23, 1913, p. 308). Both men and
[842] women, if they wish to have offspring, wear an impusu y'Imana, a garment of Imana, made of reddish barkcloth with black circles painted on it. Imana is the supreme god of all manes, of all ancestral spirits, and thereby has the character of an old national god.

Although Imana as the sole creator of the world ranks high above the other gods, one nevertheless cannot describe this as a monotheistic concept of the Barundi, as is done by some missionaries (No. 44, p. 283). Nor is it correct to attempt to see a kind of "Trinity" in the fact that, besides Imana, the Barundi have two supreme gods, Rikiranga and Riangombe, whom they often identify or confuse with Imana (No. 19, p. 214). This is to put Christian interpretations on the matter, and these are foreign to the thinking of the Barundi.

It appears that Kiranga or Rikiranga ranks closest to Imana. If Imana is described as the supreme head of the high ancestral spirits, Kiranga is the ruler of all the lesser demons and of all things material. For this reason von der Burgt describes him as a kind of "logos payen" (No. 19, p. 216). He is the god to whom people appeal first for assistance in all worldly matters. It is Kiranga to whom the priestly cult of the crowds is devoted, to him the ceremony of the "sacred spear" is dedicated (see p. 134), and the high priest calls himself Kiranga for he is "possessed" by him, he is his medium (p. 123). To all appearances he is a deity of the old Bantu population and has remained
776 quite free of Batussi influence. The missionaries refer to
778 Kiranga as the "devil" (No. 23, 1904, p. 123). It is said that
793 near Mujaga in central Urundi Kiranga possesses two large herds

794 admission to the order by the society's members is then enacted
575 in the kraal of the candidate. It is accompanied by innumerable
796 formulas, ministrations, invocations of Riangombe, Painting of face and body, eating, drinking, dressing up, handling the sacred spear, alternate chants, and the rattling of bells and gourds. Each of these acts has a symbolic meaning and reference (No. 44, pp. 539-558).

At the end of the ceremony the candidate's sponsor puts
[292] on the insignia of Riangombe (leopard skin, headdress with a cow's tail, etc.) and thereby turns into Riangombe himself who now in his own person performs the ceremony of the admission of the neophyte by a kind of examination and instruction. However, the novice is initiated to no profound secrets or "esoteric wisdom," as in the mysteries of antiquity, but only to ritual formalities, and though the novice is required to make a solemn vow that he will keep the secrets of the Kubandwa, this refers merely to these superficial ceremonies, for, like the other ababandwa, he knows of nothing else. In conclusion, the newly admitted member once more offers presents to Riangombe and to the ababandwa assisting him. Then Riangombe confers
● [551] a new name on the novice by which he will be exclusively known in the future; in Ruanda, for example, the name may be "the little one who smashes the stone," or "the one who swallows cream," or "the one who steals from his mother," or "the one who rids the dogs of fleas" (No. 44, p. 870). After this the neophyte is a regular member of the society. Then the ababandwa, decorated with the insignia of their spirits, march through the countryside collecting food which is finally squandered in an eating and drinking bout (No. 44, p. 110). The newly admitted umubandwa then has to give public demonstration of his newly acquired power. A Munjaruanda who finds himself in some difficult situation asks him to help him appeal to Riangombe or some other god or protective spirit (for example, Kiranga, Masira, Binego, Kagoro, Mugassa). This is done by ceremoniously imploring the god to grant the request and by slaughtering in honor of the god a sterile cow, an old steer, or a ram, which is consumed by the ababandwa of the entire region (No. 44, p. 123 ff.). [127] On this occasion, as at all cattle sacrifices,

[141] The average stature of the Batwa, or Negrillos, does not exceed 1.59 meters. Short and stocky, rather poorly proportioned, they tend to have ungraceful bodies. They are hairy; their chest especially presents a large surface of hair. Prognathism is more pronounced among them than among the Bahutu. They are also less sensitive to cold and fatigue, at least those who live in the woods, for they are used to privation and to the inclemency of the seasons.

[165] Their vigor and longevity are now proverbial. This is why the Batutsi and Bahutu like to give their children Batwa names, such as Mutwa, Gatwa, /30/ Lwamukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., as if they could infuse the physical traits of that race into them along with the names (1). Any bone, so long as it has belonged to a Negrillo, is

1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets. The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ilemo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks. Not only are they, on the average,

428 [768] The widow whose son was chosen as chief legatee usually enjoys the use of the family property until her death. The sharing is definitively carried out only after she has left this world. A childless widow is usually sent away by her husband's relatives, who share among themselves the property of the deceased. On being dismissed, she is left merely with a mat and a few household utensils. If she is fairly young, one of her brothers-in-law takes her as a concubine or gets her another husband. /51/ When a child loses both parents, he 429 is given a guardian. The legal guardian is the paternal grandfather, or lacking him, an uncle, a paternal first cousin, or lastly the chief of the village himself.

Maternal uncles and aunts, especially if they belong to another clan, cannot as a general rule manage the orphan's property. This would give rise to disputes and legal porceedings among the members of both tribes. They may bring up the child at best.

The guardianship devolves by right to relatives on the paternal side. They administer the ward's property until he comes of age, [582] that is to say, until the day when he takes a wife. This usually happens at the age of eighteen or nineteen.

[428] If only daughters are left, the nearest paternal relatives inherit the family property, but they must take care of the orphans until they marry.

If a person dies childless and leaves no relatives, his property devolves by right to the hill chief. This property is called inkungu.

[165] The families are large, but child mortality is high.

851 Eight days after his birth the newborn child receives from his ● 551 father a name that befits the circumstances (1). The mother /52/ is

1. "We notice that all men," says Mgr. LeRoy, "give themselves names that characterize them, and frequently the best one they could find was that of an animal whose strength, skill, agility, or beauty they had noticed, of a plant that was useful to them. . . . of an object or phenomenon which had struck them." (Les primitifs /Primitive Peoples/, p. 126.)

851
551

We shall now list some examples of those names:

Ntare . . . . . = "lion"
Se-ntama . . . . . = "sheep man"
Se-buhene . . . . . = "goat man"
Se-nkôkô . . . . . = "chicken man"
Se-mbga . . . . . = "dog man"
Njangwe . . . . . = "cat"
Se-biti . . . . . = "tree man"
Bissussa . . . . . = "(edible) nettles"
Nyira-massaka . . . = "sorghum girl"
Se-bishimbo . . . . = "bean man"
Se-masuka . . . . . = "hoe man"
Hakiz'umwami . . . = "it is the king who reprieves (or favors)"
Nyiragitondo . . . . = "morning woman" (one born in the morning).
Se-batware . . . . . = "chiefs' man"
Se-mapfa . . . . . = "famine man"
Madjoro . . . . . = "night" (because born during the night).
Semahundo . . . . . = "sorghum-stalk man"
Lwango . . . . . = "the one who hates"
Luvuga-make . . . . = "the one who speaks little" (that is, the quiet one).
Se-bazungu . . . . . = "Europeans' man," that is to say, born upon the arrival of the Whites.
Ndegeya . . . . . = "man with a sixth finger," that is to say, born with this peculiarity of a sixth finger.

granted a fair amount of respect, and the child is treated well, but from our point of view his education is nil.

684 As happens among most Negro peoples, the law is very strict for extramarital crimes.

173 . His reign, being recent, is well known, and the tale of his expeditions is still to be heard from the lips of those of his contemporaries who survived him. His popularity is almost equal to that of his grandfather Ruganzu II, whose deeds and actions, badly distorted by legend as they are, have been preserved and are still the subject of many a fireside conversation. Lwabugiri's shifts of mood were most interesting. /[97] His revenges, like his bloodthirsty whims, were short lived. He would raise the children of his victims and adopt young captives for whom he took a fancy, shower them with wealth, and admit them into his family.

His immediate successor, Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, barely remained on the throne for a year. He was overthrown by Kabale, the most powerful chief of the Hamitic Bega clan.

So as not to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, the vanquished king took his own life. Mussinga, one of Lwabugiri's youngest sons, was immediately enthroned under the name of Yuhi IV.

Through his mother Kanjogera, he was a nephew of the ambitious Kabale, who was regent before the young prince came of age. The Banyiginya clan, from which the royal family is issued and which had until then wielded a preponderant influence at court, was stripped of its property. The most outstanding chiefs of the vanquished party were relentlessly killed by the Bega people, who divided the government of the provinces among themselves over the corpses of their victims. The Bega men, embittered because they had been kept away from public affairs, were avenging once and for all the inferior position in which they felt /93/ they had been held for such a long time by their rivals.

One may ask whether Kabale when he gave his nephew the royal name of Yuhi did not do so intentionally.

643 173 ●551 Two categories of kings are distinguished: warrior kings and peaceful kings (from the verb guteka, "to sit." (1))

1. The same verb guteka also means "to cook" (kupika in Kiswahili).

The name which is given to them on the day of their enthronement binds and commits them throughout their reign to a certain course of

643 action. "Ruganzu" is a war name, and so is "Kigeri." Ruganzu II
173 Ndori, as recounted by one tradition, had suffered so much (yari
551 yarushye chyane) that in order to spare his successors as much as possible of the anxieties, sorrows, and fatigue he had endured, he demanded that his name of "Ruganzu" should vanish forever with him into the grave. He thought that he would reduce thereby the number of future wars. The titles of "mutara" and "Yuhi" commit to peace those to whom they are given, who are not permitted to cross rivers (ntibambuk' uruzi). To break this "taboo" would make them and their realm subject to great misfortunes.

701 Thus, it was not Mutara himself who conquered the Gissaka. In case of a necessary war or expedition, the sovereign appoints two generals, one of whom (umugabe) has command of military operations while the other holds a mere honorary rank. He is said to exercise an occult and magic influence over the opponents, who cannot fail to be conquered if he fulfills his role properly. In the course of his expeditions, Lwabugiri always had at his side one of those generals with superstitious functions. They are called Abagaba.

Book IV

(First Fascicle)

The Royal Court

(Its Posts, Privileges, Mores, and Customs)

644 /348/ The object of the present study is the organization of the royal court, its posts and offices, its customs and festivals (1).

1. In order to designate the court and capital as they are here and now, the Banyarwanda use the word

784 keeper or owner of a herd, his property would also suffer from this infraction of custom (2). /411/

2. His cows would bear only male calves.

A husband may not use this kitchen utensil to beat his wife! He would risk the loss of his life.

The failure to observe most of the prescribed customs while celebrating a wedding would make the parents of the two partners liable to illness or death.

[551] When asked what their name is, children, young men, and girls either do not answer or give a false name, for fear that the stranger may cast an evil spell upon them and thus prevent them from growing.

[84] A woman in her menses may not enter a hut where there is a newborn child, lest she cause the baby to contract scabies. Hence [751] the custom of placing a copper-thread bracelet (urunyerere, or urwinjiri) about the neck of babies as a talisman and preventive.

[643] The king must never bend his knees, in order not to expose his kingdom to becoming smaller.

A father may not step over the hide that serves as a portable cradle (ingobyi) for his child, nor may a son step over his mother's belt.

A woman may not step over a spear, milk a cow, repair the roof of a hut, imitate (!) the cry of a rooster, etc.

It is forbidden to sit on a food basket.

When it thunders, one may not smoke a pipe when seated on a chair.

No one may rest on a sheepskin, or he will contract scabies (ngo badahumana). There is danger of death involved in carrying a whetting stone (ityazo) into someone else's house.

[825 777] It is expressly forbidden to kill certain birds and certain reptiles, not only because they are totem but also because they are regarded either as good luck for the land, like the wagtail (inyamanza), or as bad luck, like the scaly anteater, whose dead body might draw great misfortunes upon the territory. /412/

195 surprising that they should be shocked and amused by the lingo of the
644 mountain dwellers and those who inhabit the frontiers of the realm. The latter's language is far from refined. It teems with syntactical and accentual mistakes and contains a mixture of foreign terms borrowed from the tongues of neighboring groups.

More conversant than others with matters of language, the men at court readily argue about the worth or etymology of existing words, and willingly create others which are more adequate by drawing upon the genius of their language.

195 The plural word imiduha means "cactus." Its literal meaning
814 is "those (plants) that give to us." Since those kinds of plants, which resemble the Abyssinian quelqual or kwelkol, are not of any productiveness to the Banyarwanda, the men of letters propose, at least theoretically, to replace the word with imyiha or ichyiha, both of which are purely conventional nouns devoid of this misleading connotation.

It is in the same spirit that the black academicians wish to substitute the word ikyiyone, that is to say, "large bird" for the usual term igikona, whose literal meaning is "that which ravages" (the crops). Our African "Immortals" /Tr.: term applied to members of Académie Française/ would also like to see the term umuguta used exclusively to designate a skeleton (or dried-up cadaver), and its synonym umwite reserved for the word "skin."

●551 In their superstitious fear the Blacks avoid pronouncing the
195 names of persons, animals, and things of which they are afraid. They are motivated by the spirit expressed in the French proverb:

Quand on parle du loup, il sort du bois /Talk of the wolf and he will come out of the woods, i.e., speak of the devil and he will appear./ /455/

Instead of calling the leopard by his real name, ingwe, the cowherds, shepherds, travelers, and all other persons who frequent the areas haunted by those animals use the following expressions:

"The one whose name is kept unsaid," Nyiramahole.
"The wind (fast as the wind)," Muyaga.
"The claw of claws," Rwara.
"The animal with the spotted coat," Bugondo.
"The voracious one," Kimizi.

[55] 195 So as not to risk meeting a lion /intare/, they use the following expression when speaking of that animal: "the glutton" (lwabgiga).

The Blacks are never at a want for words. Their language is rich and lends itself to subtleties and to the development of the new ideas introduced by the Europeans.

198 [575] In order to communicate among themselves, the members of the Ryangombe secret society have created a sort of dialect. Many of its more common terms are known to the uninitiated but arouse mirth when used in ordinary speech.

We shall list here some of the words in this Rumandwa dialect:

192
198

Rumandwa	Literal Sense	Runyarwanda	Meaning
Ameza	"Good things"	Amata	Milk
Ubgihinga	"A difficult thing to cultivate"	Uburo	Eleusine
Ibihimbaza	"Things that satisfy /hunger/"	Ibishimbo	Beans
Amaranda (1)	"Creeping things"	Amateke	Taraud /the dictionary meaning "screw cutter" does not seem to apply here./

1. Or amabya y' abak ungu.

Umubonanya		Umutsima	Sorghum bread
Inganda		Inzoga	Beer
Akayoba nzara	"That which staves off hunger"	Itabi	Tobacco
Imirundi y' inkuba	"The legs of lightning," (that is to say, that which is shaped like a bolt of lightning).	Ibijumba	Sweet Potatoes /456/

644 484 Appointed cowherds lead before them a small herd of milk cows to provide for the needs of the king.

661 The passage of a prince was formerly tantamount to a disaster for the local inhabitants, who had to harbor the members of the train.

The retinue did not merely include courtiers, the royal guard, sorcerers, and the usual employees. Those dignitaries who wished to retain the good graces of the sovereign made it their business to accompany him with their numerous servants. Idlers and jacks-of-all-trades also joined the train along the way and fleeced the unlucky natives on whom they paid a visit.

This was indeed a veritable army which spared neither friend nor foe, trampling the crops in their path, looting travelers, and taking by force from the local inhabitants whatever had not been hidden in time.

[551] The men who made up the usual retinue of Kigeri IV Lwabugiri were nicknamed the "Pillagers" (1), owing to their extortions.

1. Their native nickname, Ibitsimbanyi, is a noun derived from the verb gutsimba, which means "to pillage," "to fleece."

644 768 11. For the sake of completeness, we shall cite the following two customs which the keepers of the traditions assure us were observed in the past. /498/

When the death of a neighboring sovereign, of the Uswi, Urundi, or Karagwe, was announced, the king had to leave his residence and have a new one built (1).

1. Times have changed. The choice of a site and the building of a new "palace" would present too many difficulties today. When the prince of Urundi died, the king merely spent eight days outside his habitual

852 If the child is a girl, the mother gives her: lugori, a head band of corn straw which is a symbol of motherhood; luhindu, a needle; and ntamyi, a papyrus thread.

In describing this ceremony, Father P. Schumacher (1) says

1. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, p. 901.

that the child, be it boy or girl, is also presented with hoes with which invited children cultivate a piece of land one square meter in size at the spot where the child's uncleanliness is buried. This ceremony is called kusohora and takes place on the eighth day after birth. Present at the ceremony are the child and the mother, shaved for the first time since her confinement.

553 The next day the child is given a name. In Kissaka it is said that children are not named until they are three or four months old. The grandfather names the son, and the grandmother names the daughter. At this ceremony the child is laid on the ground before sunrise and called by its name. If a child has not been born 551 within the house, it is given a special name. In that case a boy is called Maira, and a girl, Nanzira. Besides these names, children are given other names, even those of strangers. Some of these are nicknames and often replace the regular names.

We must also mention that everyone has not only his personal name and the name of his clan, but also the name of his umuzimu, that is, of the ancestral spirit which remains in contact with him. I could not find out any details about this. It seems that the name of the spirit to which the child must make offerings and build a spirit hut (ndaro) is used as the child's second name.

Besides these names people also have boastful names. Father Schumacher (2) says: "Every Munyaruanda, or at least every warrior,

2. Ibid., p. 895.

has a kivugo, that is, a nickname that extols his outstanding characteristics, especially the warlike ones. The byivugo (plural)

●551 are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

842 If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has
843 remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it
164 has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea, in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

845 Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in
847 Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

853 Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

[854] Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the
861 high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral education of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

643 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For
656 example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my journey (1907).

644 At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by
372 Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire
687 went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they
778 had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each year from the Sese Islands.

766 The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king.
643 After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along
[775] with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live on as leopards after death.

643 A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be
578 the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

643 There are, however, some regulations which eliminate certain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well
551 change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his
644 mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this
644 weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons